

November, 1933

THE

FIFTEEN CENTS

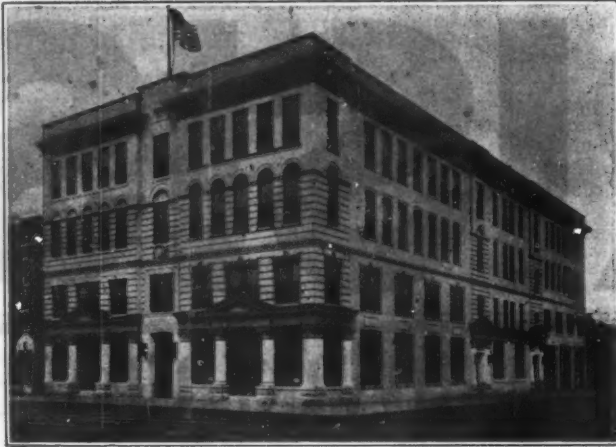
CRISIS

A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES



TWENTY-THIRD ANNIVERSARY NUMBER

PAN-AFRICA—BANNISTER—NEGRO ART—SOMERSETT CASE



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A Record of the Darker Races

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, *Editor*

George W. Streator, *Acting Business Manager*

Volume 40, No. 11 Contents for November, 1933 Whole No. 276

COVER. The Black Miner. A drawing. By J. E. Dodd.	
AS THE CROW FLIES.....	245
PAN-AFRICA AND NEW RACIAL PHILOSOPHY.—By W. E. B. Du Bois	247
EDWARD MITCHELL BANNISTER. By John S. Brown, Jr., Illustrated	248
MUSIC AND SLAVERY. By Marie Bessmertny.....	248
THE NEGRO ARRIVES. By Ivan Earle Taylor.....	249
ETHIOPIA, 1933	250
IN MEMORIAM. A Poem. By Eloise Carey Bishop.....	251
SOMERSETT'S CASE. By John W. Douglas.....	252
THE NEW INTEREST OF AUSTRIAN YOUTH IN NEGRO PROSE AND POETRY. By Percy L. Julian.....	253
NORTH CAROLINA LIBERALISM ON TRIAL. By George W. Streator	254
TO A COLORED SAXAPHONIST. A Poem. By Roscoe C. Wright	255
THE STATUS OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO IN THE NEW DEAL. By Hazel W. Harrison.....	256
ALONG THE COLOR LINE. Illustrated.....	257
POSTSCRIPT. By W. E. B. Du Bois.....	260
THE 100 METER FINALS AT THE OLYMPICS. A Poem. By Herbert Henegan	262
SONNET. By Cardinal Le Gros.....	262

THE CHRISTMAS CRISIS

Translation of a story by Dostoevsky

A review of The Racial Philosophy

An article on the celebrated Crawford case and its significance

Other Christmas features

The Kilkenny Cats are loose in the New York City election. The real query is Can a Wop rule the first city of America?

What is the cheapest dollar America can afford? Southern cotton planters want one worth zero. They would.

Now that everybody is back to work except 5 or 6 million, and everybody has high wages except those who haven't, and Prosperity has returned except to certain addresses, we rise to suggest that everybody sing The Bar-Spangled Planner.

Yes, we'd like to C. U. B. A. reader of the *Crisis* and also able to mind your U. S. A. business when called upon.

Did the munitions makers bribe Hitler so as to make the Disarmament Congress a more complete farce?

Liberia is really being bludgeoned by a little 2 by 4 politician in the State Department named Briggs and owned by Firestone.

Welcome Barbusse! Still "Under Fire!"

Israel is noblest when oppressed. "Behold, all they that were incensed against thee shall be ashamed and confounded;

AS THE CROW FLIES

they shall be as nothing; and they that strive with thee shall perish!"

This is a great day for the Devil; he hit the Irish in the election of 1928; he got the Jews in 1933; he can defeat La Guardia in 1934; he damned the Negro at Swarthmore. Hurrah for King Prejudice!

What will become of the noble white race, if a black king of Africa is allowed to thrash the lecherous dog who rapes his daughters. What ho! Page Lathrop Stoddard!

Careful, careful, Nordics; Japan and China are nearing understanding. When five hundred million yellow boys call to four hundred million brown boys, the next move will be up to 250 million white boys. And some move!

It looks as though President Roosevelt might yet run Amos and Andy off the radio. Personally we prefer—but what difference does that make!

Of course it's all right and easy and feasible because everybody says it is and yet I find myself waking in the night watches and asking who after all is going to pay this bill for plowed-up cotton, three billion in public works and 25c a bushel for cheap wheat? Is it going to be me or Mr. Morgan and if neither, who? I'm worried.

Have you noticed how polite the American press is to Russia these days? No women for sale; no real famines; no revolution around the corner; what's up? Are we all going red?

Well, now that Prohibition is killed, dead and buried, what is going to keep the nation from being perpetually drunk? We might try alternative doses of Billy Sunday and Aimee Semple MacPherson.

The Press of the United States is certainly free and independent—free to be silent and independent of public demand. Just as soon as the Nation makes up its mind to forgive its European debtors, the biggest news since the World War quietly fades out of the headlines and the foreign debt commissioners land in a silence so loud it stuns us. Which proves that news is news no matter who fails to print it.

THE CRISIS was founded in 1910. It is published monthly at 69 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y., by Crisis Publishing Company, Inc., and is the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The subscription price is \$1.50 a year or 15c a copy. Foreign subscriptions \$1.75. The date of expiration of each subscription is printed on the wrapper. When the subscription is due a blue renewal blank is enclosed. The address of a subscriber may be changed as often as desired, but both the old and new address must be given and two

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Pan-Africa and New Racial Philosophy

By W. E. B. DuBOIS

DURING the last ten months, we have tried in the *CRISIS* magazine to make a re-statement of the Negro problem in certain of its aspects. We began with the question of health and disease among us. Then we took up in succession our physical rate of increase, "Karl Marx and the Negro," "The Problem of Earning a Living," "Marxism and the Negro Problem," "The Negro Vote," "The Class Struggle Within the Race," "Negro Education," and "Our Problems of Religion."

We have considered all these matters in relation to the American Negro but our underlying thought has been continually that they can and must be seen not against any narrow, provincial or even national background, but in relation to the great problem of the colored races of the world and particularly those of African descent.

There are still large numbers of American Negroes who in all essential particulars conceive themselves as belonging to the white race. And this, not on account of their color, which may be yellow, brown or black, but on account of their history and their social surroundings. They react as white Americans. They have all the racial prejudices of white America, not only against Asiatics and Jews, but even against Mexicans and West Indians. In all questions of human interest, they would flock to white America before they would flock to the brown West Indies or to black Africa or to yellow Asia.

This, of course, is quite natural, and in a sense proves how idiotic most of our racial distinctions are. Here is a boy, born in America, of parents who were born in America, of grandparents and great grandparents born in America. He speaks the American twang; he reads American history, he gets his news from American papers, and he understands American baseball. It is impossible for that boy to think of himself as African, simply because he happens to be black. He is an American. But on the other hand, as he grows up and comprehends his surroundings, he is going to be made to think of himself as at least a peculiar sort of American. Against this, he is going to protest, logically and emotionally, and dwell upon the anomaly of a person being out-cast and discriminated against in his own home. Gradually, however, he is going to find that this protest has only limited effect; that to most white Americans of today, Negro prejudice is something that is beyond question and will. It is a stark, true fact and little or nothing

can be done about it at present. In the future, the long future, things may change. But they are not going to change in the lifetime of those now living.

So long now as this is an academic question, a matter of attitudes and thoughts and spiritual likes and dislikes, we can leave it there. But when it becomes an economic problem, a stark matter of bread and butter, then if this young, black American is going to survive and live a life, he must calmly face the fact that however much he is an American there are interests which draw him nearer to the dark people outside of America than to his white fellow citizens.

And those interests are the same matters of color caste, of discrimination, of exploitation for the sake of profit, of public insult and oppression, against which the colored peoples of Mexico, South America, the West Indies and all Africa, and every country in Asia, complain and have long been complaining. It is, therefore, simply a matter of ordinary common sense that these people should draw together in spiritual sympathy and intellectual co-operation, to see what can be done for the freedom of the human spirit which happens to be incased in dark skin.

This was the idea that was back of the Pan-African Congresses; started in Paris directly after the war, and carried on for several years. These Congresses brought upon themselves the active enmity and disparagement of all the colony-owning powers. Englishmen, Frenchmen, Belgians and others looked upon the movement as a political movement designed to foment disaffection and strife and to correct abuse by force.

It may be that in the end nothing but force will break down the injustice of the color line. But to us who have seen and known the futility of war, the ghastly paradox of talking about Victor and Vanquished in the last world holocaust, there is a feeling that we must desperately try methods of thought and co-operation and economic re-adjustment before we yield to councils of despair. And in this program, all that has been said about economic readjustment in America for American Negroes can be said with even more emphasis concerning the Negroes of the world and concerning the darker peoples. These people raise everything necessary to satisfy human wants. They are capable of carrying on every process by which material, transported and re-made, may satisfy the needs and appetites of men.

They are all of them willing and eager to work, and yet because their work is misdirected in order to make a profit for white people, these dark people must starve and be unemployed.

Here in the United States the net result of the National Recovery Act so far has been to raise wages for a small number of favored white workers and to decrease wages or push out of employment entirely the Negro. It is possible that this present result may in time be changed, and we note with interest what Secretary Ickes has said to the State Engineers and Public Works Administration:

"It is important to bear in mind that the Public Works Administration is for the benefit of all the people of the country. The established policy in the construction of public buildings and public works under its control is that in the employment of mechanics and labor, preference be given to local labor to the extent that it is available and competent, and that there be no discrimination exercised against any person because of color or religious affiliation."

Nevertheless, this we feel is going to make little difference so long as the American people believe that any white men of whatever character or education is better than any possible colored man.

It is, therefore, imperative that the colored peoples of the world, and first of all those of Negro descent, should begin to concentrate upon this problem of their economic survival, the best of their brains and education. Pan-Africa means intellectual understanding and co-operation among all groups of Negro descent in order to bring about at the earliest possible time the industrial and spiritual emancipation of the Negro peoples.

Such a movement must begin with a certain spiritual housecleaning. American Negroes, West Indians, West Africans and South Africans must proceed immediately to wipe from their minds the pre-concepts of each other which they have gained through white newspapers. They must cease to think of Liberia and Haiti as failures in government; of American Negroes as being engaged principally in frequenting Harlem cabarets and Southern lynching parties; of West Indians as ineffective talkers; and of West Africans as parading around in breech-clouts.

These are the pictures of each other which white people have painted for us and which with engaging naiveté we accept, and then proceed to laugh at each

(Will you please turn to page 262)

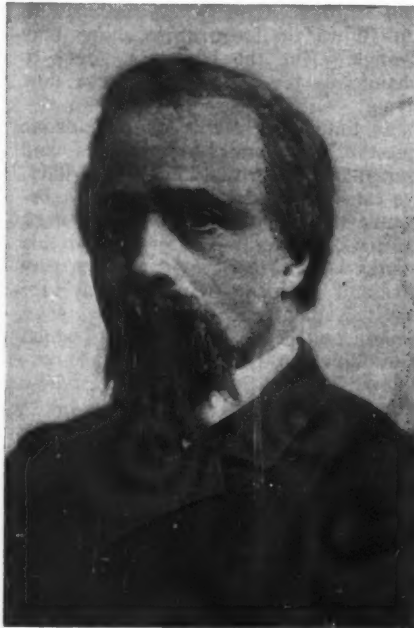
Edward Mitchell Bannister

By JOHN S. BROWN, Jr.

BANNISTER, one of the outstanding American Negro artists, was born in St. Andrews, New Brunswick in 1828 and died in Rhode Island in 1901. The preface to the catalogue of the memorial exhibition of his work at the Providence Art Club, says:

"He early came to this city, and for thirty years was prominent in the Providence group of artists. His gentle disposition, his urbanity of manner, and his generous appreciation of the work of others, made him a welcome guest in all artistic circles. While he painted cattle, sheep and figures with life and force, yet he introduced them only as incident to the effective portrayal of his scene. He was par excellence a landscape painter, and the best one our state has yet produced. He painted with profound feeling, not for pecuniary results, but to leave upon the canvas his impression of natural scenery, and to express his delight in the wondrous beauty of land and sea and sky. Had his nature been more self-reliant and adventurous, and had early opportunity been more kind, he might easily have been one of America's greatest landscape painters; it was his lot, however, to pursue his humble path among us, and to gently lead us into that greater love of art which only the fine man and the fine artist can inspire."

Providence is today one of the chief centers for the cultivation of art in America, and this is due in no little degree to Edward Bannister. He was among the seven persons who incorporated the Providence Art Club in 1880. At that time he had attained unquestioned place as an artist and gained his first recognition when he exhibited a landscape, "Under the Oaks", at the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia in 1876. He had been living in Providence since 1871 and had been a regular exhibitor at the Boston



E. M. Bannister

Art Club and elsewhere. Finding a demand for landscapes he studied the Narragansett Coast and sold several pictures. He tells of his experience at the Centennial:

"I learned from the newspapers that Number 54 had received a First Prize Gold Medal, so I hurried to the committee rooms. There was a great crowd ahead of me, and as I jostled among them many resented my presence.

"What is that Negro doing in here?" and other remarks were heard. Finally, I reached the desk and tried to get the attention of the official in charge. He was insolent. Without raising his eyes, he said shortly:

"Well, what do you want here. Speak lively."

"I want to inquire concerning Number 54. Is it a prize winner?"

"What's that to you?"

Controlling myself, I said: 'I am interested in the report that it received a prize. I painted the picture!'

An explosion could not have made a more marked expression."

The picture was sold to Mr. Duff of Boston for \$1,500. It is said that when the judges found that they had given the prize to a colored man, they attempted to change their decision, but Bannister's fellow artists prevented this.

The Providence Art Club maintains the memory of Bannister. It is a social as well as an art center of the city, and on the first floor is a profile of Bannister's head.

Edwin Bannister married, Miss Christian Babcock of Providence. His niece, Miss Malvina Babcock is his nearest living relative. She has a number of his canvasses. His grave in North Burial Ground, Providence, is marked by a monument consisting of a rough natural stone about eight feet high, bearing on its face a palette and a pipe, and inscribed with his name.

Shortly after Bannister's death, the Art Club opened a memorial exhibit at the club, borrowing 101 of his canvasses. The owners of these pictures are prominent people of Providence.

A glance at the titles of this exhibit give the following, taken at random: "After the Shower;" "Repose;" "Fisherman's Return;" "Dutch Cow and Girl;" "Cliffs at Newport;" "Golden Light;" "Jesus Led to Caiaphas" and "The Old Home."

The Art Club published a catalogue listing the pictures in the memorial exhibition. This contains in addition a picture of Bannister and a preface concerning him.

Music and Slavery

By MARIE BESSMERTNY

WHEN the fifty year Jubilee of the Emancipation of Russian serfs was being celebrated much material came to light concerning the artists among the former serfs. In the cultivated circles of the Russian nobility music always played a great role but to be engaged professionally in this art was beneath the dignity of a nobleman. Although Peter the Great and

Catherine the Great made radical reforms in social life, nevertheless as late as 1817, it was declared law that officials who practised music on the stage or in public concerts must lose all their titles and decorations.

On this account high-born persons of great musical gifts like the Princes Galyzin, Welgorsky, Naryschkin and Scheremetjew, figured only as amateurs.

Glinka himself, creator of the Russian national opera, "The Life of the Czars," who had belonged to a noble family, was only considered a talented melodist. In the first twenty years of the last century the social position of musicians in Russia was so little recognized that the attempt to establish an association of music lovers, in spite of the efforts of princely amateurs, was unsuccessful.

On this account nearly all the Russian musicians came from the ranks of the slaves and every nobleman zealously used his players. The princes Schiusky, Jurjew and others owed their reputation to the possession of excellent organists, violinists and good singers. Not often had the slaveowner, however, either the right or the wish to have his talented and energetic slaves systematically educated. This happened, however, quite secretly whenever there came a fortunate chance. The spiritual subjection went so far nevertheless that self-taught education among the slaves was a difficult accomplishment.

In spite of all this the landowners arranged their own court orchestras from among their slaves. This arrangement had the advantage that among the so-called lower people, the position of a musician was developed and also the necessary training for orchestra players. Foreign artists had more consideration but the demand for good musicians in

Russia is shown characteristically by the prices for which they were sold. The great noblemen sold their artist slaves just as they did others. For a celebrated violinist during the time of Catherine the Great 20,000 Rubles were paid. Field Marshall Rasumowsky sold his orchestra to Prince Potemkin for 40,000 Rubles. In the year 1797 the flute-player von Ruf in Moscow was sold to another nobleman for many thousand Rubles. Moreover, lovers of art did not mind exchanging a fine estate for musical and dramatic power; Count Ramensky for example gave a village of 250 people for a player with his wife and daughter. These figures prove that the great noblemen had every reason to guard their musical slaves in order to make them serviceable for their own advantage and self-esteem. Loyal princes often gave their musicians considerable rewards.

The more the slaves were distinguished in art, literature and science

the more tragic their lives became, because the discouraging accompaniments of slavery still went on. The result was very often degeneration or suicide. A wonderful violinist of his time who was threatened with whipping by his master, took an ax and cut off his right hand. Young women artists often destroyed themselves in order to escape the importunities of their admirers.

Beside the practising musicians were also many creative artists like the violinist Chandoschkin and the composer of two operas, Poltorasky, who was afterwards raised to the nobility and Dechtjarew, the author of the first Russian oratorio. The biographers of some of these artists tell us that they often received the finest treatment and sometimes were freed by their master.

The day when, in the spring of 1861, the chains fell from two dozen million men through the Emancipator Alexander II is even more noteworthy for the history of Russian music.

The Negro Arrives

By IVAN EARLE TAYLOR

I AM fully convinced that the Negro is paramount in the entertaining arts what with the way he is being capitalized on radio, stage and screen; but there is something wrong with it all. Somehow, instead of being proud of his success, I am ashamed. What are the reasons for this shame which sometimes amounts to disgust?

In the first place those who capitalize on the artistic abilities of the Negro insist on depicting him either as a fool or a vagabond. And when I say fool or vagabond I do not mean the Fallstaffian brand of fool-vagabond with subtle wit and pathetic humor; I mean a plain ass. I can't turn on the radio without hearing of the futile and impossible escapades of John Henry, the black brute who is surrounded at all times by a band of flattering, cowardly cohorts; or of the assinine doings of those two passing-for-colored fellows Amos 'n' Andy; or the yelling and clowning and general buffoonery of Mr. Yap Holloway and those of his ilk who insist on telling why darkies were born underneath the Harlem moon. Then to cap it all here comes the screen version of *Emperor Jones* with Mr. Paul Robeson as the star—but more about that later.

Then again it is quite evident that after these many decades during which the Negro has been trying to emerge as an artist he is still regarded as a minstrel of the lowest type, for nearly

all the pieces in which he is cast reveal him as a black-faced comedian either in fact or in spirit. There seems to be a conscious effort to depict him in mean, degraded roles. The radio makes of him a rogue, a fool or a drunken, care-free bawd. In all fairness let me say here that he is occasionally shown as a faithful servant, but always a servant, always a menial, who on the slightest provocation will break forth into song, and that, either some corn-field ditty or vapid spiritual. It is getting so that there are as many spirituals as there are tunes turned out by tin-pan alley; and many of them are quite as idiotic. Everyone who knows a crotchet from a quaver these days writes a spiritual which shows the Negro as a simple-minded soul with his heart and head in a heaven where there will be no work, but corn and chicken and pork chops "that high." Everywhere among the arts and lesser arts the Negro is submitted to and submits himself to contumely and ridicule; even the comic strips show him as a lazy, care-free loon; and the Negro himself in song and play and story seems to do all he can to establish this disgraceful reputation. The list of insults that are heaped upon him ranges all the way from loose morals through drunkenness, general debauchery and laziness to plain thickheadedness.

According to the current amusement pieces the Negro if he is living in

Harlem or any other large urban settlement is one who sleeps all day and carouses all night, spending all of his waking hours in rolling dice or in living up to the verses "taint no sin to drink your gin, that's why darkies were born." If he is living in the rural sections he sleeps both day and night waking only long enough to sing a spiritual or swallow a slug of corn, the while "wishing that the fish won't grab at his line." The ditty from which I quote would have us believe that he is too lazy and sleepy to listen to the gentle remonstrance of the crooner, for the piece tells us that "he never heard a word I said." Then too, if he is a business-man he is shown to be a duffer at figures not knowing the difference between five hundred and five thousand dollars. During a broadcast I heard one clown insist on getting a thousand dollars for his product instead of the proffered fifteen hundred dollars, saying: "Ah deals in thousands not hundreds." Andy-like he is ever the easy victim of every sort of business trickery and flimflam and all his actions are reported in language which shows that he has neither knowledge of the relation of the verb to its subject nor the ability to pronounce correctly any word of more than one syllable. He must say "I drinks," "I sleeps," "we runs" and his business is always incorporated instead of incorporated.

The World War produced some mar-

velous phenomena in the whole scale of human life and thought. Among these was the willingness to give to any man a chance to express himself. The past decade was one of self-expression. Anyone could fret and strut upon the stage and get an audience whether he were a thug, a reformer, a thief or a fool. The age which produced Capone and Aimee MacPherson, Becton and Volstead, cubism, nudism, and free verse led to the discovery of the Negro as a rich mine for dramatic material. His struggles, his rich humor, his good nature and his fervent religion singled him out for dramatic endeavor. He was, at last, to be given a hearing. But what happened? Prejudice had to be appeased and the Negro had to play the clown if he played at all. He must remain the fool. Yes, he could sing, he was a fine artist, a great actor, but he must sing only spirituals and interpret only the indolent life of the corn-field and the travails of the blood-hounded fugitive. He must not be a man and act the part of a man. The Negro came into the nearly-big money but to stay in it he had to knuckle down and under. And he did and still is doing it. It is all right for him to play the part of *Rastus* but he must not play *Othello*. So true is this that Mr. Robeson played the latter part extensively abroad but here he played Brutus Jones. When it was learned that Miss Yarborough and Mr. Bledsoe were to play *Aida* and *Amonasro* on the stage in New York we could scarcely believe it and we have nearly apotheosized the director who was courageous enough to give them the chance.

I know that some will say in regard to the parts which the Negro plays in the theatre and elsewhere that it is art, and art must be for art's sake. I know all the old arguments about art: it is to point a moral, to effect catharsis; it is truth, it must be true to life, art for art's sake; but no one definition of art is adequate, for it is too living, too plastic. To try to define art in an aphorism is like trying to define education in an aphorism. Volumes need be written to define art. But if the Negro is to be given a chance to lay claim to being an artist, or, if he himself is to make that claim, he must be given a chance to qualify to enter the great company of Siddons and Terry, of Aldrich and Henry Irving he must play the part of men and not of asses. True enough, in life there is much of nonsense and there are fools and knaves and louts aplenty, but they are not all black. Guzzling, sleeping and dicing are indulged in by all races in equal measure.

I saw *Emperor Jones* on the screen, I had seen it also on the stage and in both instances it was a despicable performance. Not the acting but the story. It will go to every corner of America as a faithful portrayal of the mind of the Negro. Certainly the emotions of vainglory and fear are legitimate themes for the drama, they are not new and we have had them time and again throughout the long history of the drama; but why show the hero as a traitorous, cruel, vain, superstitious and grovelling dog? The piece runs the whole gamut of the emotions and becomes a hodge-podge being neither

tragedy nor comedy, although it is supposed to be the former.

Any artistic performance, or any form of entertainment for that matter, that is worth its salt should be fine and uplifting, full of rich flavor and a sympathetic and clear understanding of human life; it should not consciously and persistently degrade any man or group of men. Throughout the performance of *Emperor Jones* the hateful and degrading word which I will not use here was used. I can recall no public performance in which such words as dago, wop, kike or mick were applied to other racial groups. Why should one of our great artists be made to use a derisive word to apply to his own race. All-in-all *Emperor Jones* is a sorry affair.

All of this leads me to conclude that in matters artistic and entertaining the Negro has arrived—but where? *At the foot of the ladder*. And every time that he essays to play a part that is mean, crude or degrading he sets his race back a hundred years. Why should anyone expect such really fine artists as Robeson and Bledsoe to sing only such pieces as "Ole Man River" and "That's Why Darkies Were Born"?

The Negro in song and story is submitted to and submits himself to ridicule and contumely. His artists and entertainers have bowed to the whip of prejudice. They are still clowning, still playing the ass. They have sold their honor for a mess of pottage. I am heartily sick of the whole damn business.

Ethiopia, 1933

(Extracts from the article by Jerrold Robbins in the AMERICAN MERCURY for May, 1933.)

THE Americans in distant and hoary Ethiopia number only 150, and the majority of them are humble Aframerican settlers, but the whites of the minority are important people in the country. Intrigue simply seethes at Addis-Ababa. Italy, France, England, and Germany are rivals for favor, and even, it is strongly suspected, for possession. All have legations there, though their combined trade, export and import, does not exceed \$3,000,000 annually. Italy tried to seize the country in 1896; her army of 18,000 was massacred and she is believed to be waiting to wipe out the disgrace. France controls the 550 miles of railway, and collects a transit tax on most of the exports and imports. England is vitally

affected by Lake Tsana, source of the Abai or Blue Nile; while Germany, during the World War, tried to oust the other whites by uniting Abyssinian and Somali against them.

These and other nations plot either with or against one another. As late as 1925 England and Italy secretly divided Abyssinia into spheres of influence, to the detriment of France. The Ethiopians aired the matter at Geneva, and Mussolini growled an explanation, while MacDonald stuttered a half apology. There is, of course, a great show of amenity among the diplomatists at Addis-Ababa, and all are in accord that this Sick Man of Africa needs an operation. But they have never been able to agree on how to split the fee. America, too far away to be credited with territorial designs, is welcomed by the Ethiopian government, and thus serves as

a sort of checkmate to all the others.

The resident Americans give the impression they are there solely to help their Ethiopian brother. They persist in cleaning up things, they build medical centres and schools, they pay good wages, they set up a higher standard of living. The Europeans are more openly self-seeking, but also more diplomatic. Their policy is to disturb the native customs as little as possible. But it was the Americans who, in 1927, got the contract to build the dam at Lake Tsana—a \$20,000,000 job. . . .

The Americans in Abyssinia are having sad adventures with the color problem. Since the natives insist on running their own country, the whites commonly flatter them, and this cajolery in the case of the Americans and the English often takes an amusing turn. They try to convince the blackamoors, who

must ride jim-crow when in America and are barred from many London hotels, that they are really not Ethiopians at all, but blood-brothers to the Nordics. Abyssinia is really a hodge-podge of some forty races, but all show a predominant Negroid strain. The Emperor is one of the lightest-colored of the Abyssinians, save for the mulattoes there, yet an American who once saw him escorted down the Champs-Elysees by Poincare and the Garde Nationale, demanded: "Why is all this fuss being made over a common nigger?"

The Abyssinians realize that it is only their great military prowess that has saved them from being under-dogs, like all the other Africans, black, brown, or yellow. These fiery mountaineers have defeated every white or near-white nation that has attacked them, save the British. Except a few, they consider themselves really superior to white men, for they trace their history back to the Deluge. Hence when a white American seeks to flatter an Ethiopian grandee by telling him that he is eligible for the Klan or Rotary it is something like trying to laud a Mayflower descendant by telling him that he looks like a Greek immigrant.

The natives call the whites *frangi* (the equivalent of foreign devil), but the term of real contempt is *natch*. The

color prejudice of certain haughty natives often reminded me of the antics of the more violently anti-niggerish of Southern whites. I have seen an indescribably dirty and odorous Ethiopian hold his nose at the approach of a white American in a clean drill suit lest the revolting effluvia of the latter reach him, and I have seen a Galla mother hastily cover the face of her infant from the evil eye of the white man. All free Abyssinians object to the term Baria (Negro). The really black natives are the Chankalla, or slaves, an extreme Negroid type, so black that the average Aframerican is a lily in comparison. Yet the offspring of a Chankalla woman and an Abyssinian takes the caste of his father, and Menelik, the greatest of their rulers, was the son of such a female slave.

Count Gleichen has said: "With the exception of the King and a few enlightened dignitaries, it may be said that no Abyssinian wishes for progress or civilization in any way. He hates a white man, and is anxious to keep all Europeans out of his country." The Americans and the British try to exclude their own blacks lest they add fuel to the fire. Once, when an Aframerican writer, after telling about the lynchings in America to a small group of Abyssinians, Hindus, and Egyptians, was

invited to recite the same story to an audience of leading Abyssinians, an Egyptian objected in horror, saying: "If they heard that they would rise up and kill all the white people." Last September the American Minister broadcast advice to the Aframericans to keep out of Ethiopia, but in December another party of forty-eight set out for the country.

Aframerican adventurers arrive periodically with fanciful schemes, such as inducing the late Menelik to head the Negroes of the world, building roads, shooting monkeys for their skins, opening hair-straightening parlors, caring for the teeth of the natives, teaching them jazz and spirituals, introducing barbecued pork (pigs are almost unknown), and opening cabarets and movie houses. Promoters of the last-named enterprise soon learn that all natives save a few must be indoors at sundown, or risk arrest by the soldiers.

Since the coronation a hundred or so Aframericans have arrived and are settling in the rich grass and game lands around Lake Tsana, which has been given them by the government. These Negroes do not relish the presence of white Americans, or any white man, as they feel that Ethiopia is a black man's land. They have come there to escape

(Will you please turn to page 262)

In Memoriam

To My Father—Archibald James Carey—Entombed March 27, 1931

By ELOISE CAREY BISHOP

ADONAI, when the Sun hath run his course

And Day hath vexed the proud to be the meek,
I stand alone, upon a mountain peak
And strain my quiv'ring soul afar to yours.

The awful shadow of the unseen Power
Hath fallen, swift, betwixt us, oh,
Beloved

Low lies thy head; seer's brow soft
locks encircled
Lends silver to some earthy creature's
bower.

Thou, too, wert of the world's rejected
guests;

Thy keen eye, focused on th' immortal
star,
Saw not base treachery, a gleam not
far—

Small thing,—worth but thy smiling jests.

Alone, I stand, Adonais,—listening still,
Straining for the still small voice of
thine

That must forever lead me on thro'
time

Unto that wisdom—dearly bought—His
will.

And I have sought in sphinxes of the Nile
And Chapman's Homer, quickening the
Greeks,
The Koran, where the Eastern mystic
speaks,

And weird, mad ritual in savage style;

And books which tell the words of Him
you loved,
Yet still I stand—unanswered—ear
attuned.

Come thou, Beloved, ease my spirit's
wound;

But bid me how and where and I am
moved.

I scan the records of the Muse with eager
eye;

But art and science breathe their sweet
consolements round

Me for a day—and leave me groping,
bound

And straining out, Adonais, still to thee.

Couldst thou, oh, Adonais, I should not fail
To know thy voice—sweet in my wait-
ing ear,

The hand that led me and the eyes that
were

Aglow, love-lighted as a holy grail.

Oh, free thine essence sweet for a brief
stay!

Come to me with the wind that rides
the night,

Or in the beam that points a wavering
light

Through the gloom of my tumultuous day.

Speak to me, oh, and say if thou art
bound

To Death by frantic, erring, mortal
love.

Wouldst thou the life of grass and
flowers above

Thy tomb, and pulse of earth and light
and warmth and sound?

Could I but reach the wisdom that shall
be;

Could thou but say, Adonais, soft, to
me,

I would with my two hands ecstatic'ly
Rend wide the casing that imprisons thee.

Somerset's Case

By JOHN W. DOUGLAS

THESE are very few people who are not familiar with the famous Dred Scott Decision, but it might be of interest to note that England had a very similar case, except as to the result. About sixty-five years before the decision in the Dred Scott case, a Negro slave named Somerset was putting the English courts to a severe test.

A peculiar situation existed in England at that time. Slavery was never an integral part of English life, but in English colonies slavery was taken as a matter of course. The early imperialists had gone to the West Indies and completely wiped out the aborigines by cruel treatment. The resulting scarcity in labor was remedied by wholesale importations of Negro slaves from Africa. Meanwhile Captain John Hawkins had laid the foundation for a flourishing slave trade between the American colonies and slave traders. The large cities of England were filled with wealthy planters who were visiting for business or social reasons. Naturally, these men carried their slaves with them. The result of these conditions was a paradox; a free country within whose boundaries was a large number of slaves.

On November 10, 1769, Charles Stewart, a Virginian planter, arrived in London with his Negro slave, James Somerset. Stewart had come to England to transact some business affairs and brought his slave along to attend him. One year's stay in London aroused in Somerset a desire to escape. He ran away, but was caught and imprisoned on the ship, "Anne and Mary," there to stay until Stewart was ready to return home.

Now as Somerset lay in the rat ridden depths of that old hull, the future must have seemed abysmally dark. His natural desire for freedom would soon be rewarded by a merciless application of the slave master's whip. However a mighty force was stirring in England. The Quakers, themselves a despised religious sect, had condemned slavery years ago. Granville Sharp, an English philanthropist, had dedicated his life to the abolition of slavery. It was Sharp who had forced Jonathan Strong into court on the contention that Strong's slave once brought into England was a free man. The court had decided adversely, but Granville Sharp would not consider the question settled. Hearing of Somerset's plight, Sharp and the Quakers united their forces and resumed their fight against slavery.

Their first step was to serve John Knowles, the captain of the ship with a

writ of habeas corpus. The writ of habeas corpus is simply an order from the court commanding that a person restrained or deprived of his liberty be produced in court and an explanation be given as to his detention. This writ was issued by The Court of The Kings Bench and Lord Mansfield was to be the presiding Judge. A decision rendered by his court would be binding on all England, since this body constituted one of the highest courts and its verdict would set a final precedent.

English law regarding slavery was in a very confused state. Parliament had never forbidden or allowed slavery within the land, it had remained "enactively silent." Various minor courts had rendered decisions from time to time but they were contradictory. When Granville Sharp had brought the case against Jonathan Strong in 1767, the court decided that "a slave remained in law the chattel of his master even on English soil." Lord Chancellors Talbot and Hardwicke, once being asked for an opinion on the slavery issue had written "we are of the opinion that a slave by coming from the West Indies, either with or without his master, to Great Britain or Ireland doth not become free. We are also of the opinion that the master may legally compel him to return to the plantation." On the other hand Chief Justice Holt had said that "as soon as a Negro comes into England he becomes free."

History records that Lord Mansfield was not desirous of trying this cause or finally settling the issue. Perhaps he already knew what his decision would justly have to be. The itinerant slave holders in England constituted a powerful group. The holdings of these people amounted to fourteen thousand slaves valued at three million five hundred thousand dollars. To interfere with the property and wealth of these people was something that Mansfield was loath to do. Postponements, delays and suggestions of a compromise were proposed. Lord Mansfield, himself, brought to bear before the litigants all the weight of his great influence to have the case settled out of court, but Sharp tenaciously held his position. The friends of Somerset knew that if Mansfield was forced to decide the case he would decide in their favor. Such was the Chief Justice's record for legal learning and impartiality, once he decided to act.

Finding that compromises were of no avail, the slave-holding element finally girded themselves for a legal battle. Eminent lawyers were engaged for both

sides. For Stewart there was Master Dunning learned in the law and expert in the use of Latin maxims. In Somerset's behalf there were Hargraves who conducted the argument, assisted by Sharp and others who worked on the brief.

The lawyers for Somerset maintained that there was no controlling precedent to guide the court in its decision. True, several judges had given adverse opinions but they were not decisions binding on the high court of The Kings Bench. However, if the court was disposed to take notice of the earlier cases there was also the case decided by Justice Holt. In this case it was pointed out that a slave had been declared free as soon as he set foot on the soil of England.

There was also a moral side to this question. England was proud of its reputation as a land of free people. The old feudal system of villeinage, whereby the peasants had been forced to toil for the nobility, was almost extinct. Would the court sanction a new form of slavery when England had almost rid herself of the old system? Slavery was wrong, traffic in human souls was reprehensible and it was the duty of the court to decide if slave masters were to carry on their traffic in free England. If this decision should be against Somerset, the whole of England would soon be filled with the markets of the traders. The great country which had enshrined Magna Carta and given birth to the Bill of Rights would henceforth be regarded as the protector of slavery.

Counsel for Charles Stewart refused to regard Somerset in any other light than as a piece of property. He argued that to take an Englishman's property away from him would violate all of the cardinal principals of English law. The right to retain and protect property was the very basis of English property law. Suppose Mr. Stewart had bought some tobacco in Virginia and brought it to England. Was it not just as much his property in England as in Virginia? The law which governed the ownership of one's chattels was the law of the place where the owner lived. Mr. Stewart lived in Virginia, slavery was valid in Virginia, therefore Somerset could not be legally taken from his master.

When the arguments were concluded the court adjourned and the fate of the runaway slave was now in the hands of the judges.

On Monday, June 22, 1772, almost three years after Somerset was brought into England as a slave, Lord Mansfield

delivered the decision of the Court of Kings Bench. It settled once and for all the question of slavery in England. "Detaining a man as slave," said the Chief Justice, "only can be justified by the law of the country where the act is done. I care not for the supposed dicta of judges, however eminent, if they be contrary to all principle. The dicta cited were probably misunderstood and at all events they are to be disregarded. The air of England has long been too pure for a slave and every man is free who breathes it. Every man who comes into England is entitled to the protection of English laws whatever oppression he may heretofore have suffered and what

ever may be the color of his skin. Let the Negro be discharged."

This was a most momentous decision and it came just in the nick of time. The slave-holding element had become more and more aggressive. In the November 30th issue of the Gentleman's Magazine, published in 1771, the following incident was reported, "at a late sale of a gentleman's effects at Richmond, a Negro boy was put up and sold for 32 pounds. A shocking instance in a free country." However, the tide was now beginning to turn. The phrase that the air of England is too pure for a slave to breathe became a clarion call around which the abolitionists rallied. Gran-

ville Sharp and Thomas Clarkson formed the Association for the abolition of Negro slavery, William Wilberforce was elected to Parliament, where he forced the battle against the pro slavery adherents, and Zachary Macaulay joined zealously in the struggle. Finally in 1807, Parliament forbade English subjects to engage in the slave trade, and in 1833 slavery was absolutely abolished throughout the British Dominions. Thus were the fetters stricken from the bodies of Negro slaves, in the British Empire, and the splendid truth of Matthew Arnold exemplified, "that there is a stream or tendency, not of ourselves, that makes for righteousness."

The New Interest of Austrian Youth in Negro Prose and Poetry

By PERCY L. JULIAN

WHEN Anna Nussbaum published in 1929 "Afrika Singt," a collection of poems of young Negroes, translated into the German language, it marked a new epoch in European effort at interpretation of American Negro Youth. It was a noble effort on the part of this young Austrian woman, and had the desired effect of awakening the interest of nearly every young German poet in this new and rather rich field. In 1930 one found a copy of "Afrika Singt" on the bookshelf of nearly every cultured German home.

"Afrika Singt" represents only a first step in this direction. When we read many of the poems we sense more of the "urge to translate" rather than the truly scholarly effort at interpretation. The publication of this book stimulated many "hungry" and adventurous young poets to try their skill in similar efforts and for a while there was grave danger that a bread-earning attempt would destroy the effectiveness of this new approach to an understanding of Negro Literature. Fortunately this danger has been averted and one notes with a sense of genuine pleasure the efforts of the young Austrian poet and University student, Otto Brandt, to lift the level of appreciation, initiated by Anna Nussbaum and her collaborators.

In 1929 a group of University students in Vienna, encouraged by Austria's illustrious and beloved poet, the late Dr. Anton Wilgans¹ began the publication of the "Literarische Monatshefte" designed to encourage

publication of the poetry and prose of youthful Austrian genius. Indeed their patron saint, Wilgans, published some of the choicest bits of his poetry in this magazine and these young men have recently suffered keenly with all Austrians the loss of this great student and charming poet. Three poems of American Negroes published in the "Literarische Monatshefte" find a new interpretation at the hands of Otto Brandt. They are James Weldon Johnson's "To America," and Langston Hughes' "Minstrel Man" and "Youth."

DER CLOWN

(nach Langston Hughes)

Weil Lachen weitet
Meiner Lippen Rund
Und meine Brust
Verströmt Gesang,
Glaubst Du,
Mein Schmerz bestünde nicht,
Den ich verbarg
So lang.—

Weil Lachen weitet
Meiner Lippen Rund
Erkennst Du nicht
Den Schrei der Not.—
Wenn meine Füße
Trunken tanzen,
Ersteht in mir
Der Tod.

AN AMERIKA

(nach James Weldon Johnson)

Wie wollt ihr uns: So wie wir sind?
Oder ächzend unter schwerer Last,
Sternwärts das Auge, schaffend, nicht
blind,

Oder starr, verzweifelt, blickverglast?
Licht oder Tod? Mensch oder Dinge?
Mit schleppendem Gang oder flinkem
Tritt?

Stark, willige Sehne eurer Schwinge,
Oder Kettenschmiede an eurem Schritt?

JUGEND

(nach Langston Hughes)

Strahlend vor uns
Wie eine Flamme
Liegt unser Morgen.
Gestern, ein nachtgespenstiges Ding,
Verklungener Name.
Und heute Morgenröte.
Ein heller Bogen über unserer Strasse.
Wir sind am Weg.

Recently published from the pen of this young writer, as a Feuilleton in German newspapers, is "Die Geschichte einer Hinrichtung" the story of an execution in Nashville, Tennessee in 1922 of a young man whom many of us at that time believed innocent of the crime charged against him.

Negro Youth should watch carefully such efforts at interpretation of their ideals and struggles in America, and the proper orientation of these young German writers by our own would not, it appears, be wasted effort.

Before his death Dr. Wilgans took a very keen interest in and encouraged the study of poetry of young Negroes on the part of a group of young writers in Vienna. Personally I should like to see the efforts encouraged because they are the efforts of a group not actuated by the material gain which would come from publishing a good seller, but of University students fired by keen enthusiasm.

¹ Director of the Burgtheater in Vienna, the oldest legitimate German stage.

North Carolina Liberalism on Trial

By GEORGE W. STREATOR

NORTH CAROLINA with almost 1,000,000 Negroes out of a population of more than 3,000,000 has attracted more attention in recent years than any other Southern state.

The development of a financially secure middle class went on apace with the industrial expansion of the whole state. Besides the well known enterprises at Durham, Winston-Salem could boast of a bus line owned and efficiently managed by Negroes. Wilson was a center of progress. The colored citizens of Greensboro established the first building and loan society in that city. It was one of the few banking institutions in Greensboro to liquidate without severe loss to its depositors. Home owning and home building, often financed by Negro banking facilities, made many parts of North Carolina the show place of colored America.

While the white world acclaimed the liberal institution being built up on Chapel Hill, the colored world was pleased with a Southern State which supported three state colleges and two normal schools. Good roads went everywhere, and the colored town of Method vied with Durham in making good roads possible. Indeed, it was the political sagacity of Berry O'Kelly that brought paved highways to Durham County. Even with the coming of the depression Negroes managed here and there in North Carolina to achieve singular position. C. C. Spaulding was elected to membership in the Durham Chamber of Commerce. The same recognition befell President W. J. Trent of Livingstone College, Salisbury. A Negro was appointed to the Welfare Board in Greensboro, putting an end to a series of appointments of Negro "advisory chairmen." Here and there in spite of the Disfranchisement of 1900, Negro voters made their influence felt. While Greensboro could muster but 400 Negroes to support the candidacy of a Negro for City Council, 3000 voters thumbed their noses at the pettiness of registration officials in Raleigh. The great colored population of Winston-Salem was blocked from the polls by the machinations of the gang in office, but a federal judge promptly put his foot on similar offenses at Salisbury.

In the matter of higher education, the State boasts of twelve colleges, but the State and private schools are engaged in the same field: Teacher training. While the white A. & E. College at Raleigh is training technicians for the textile industry, the colored A. & T. College at Greensboro is confronted with

the precise condition that confronts every other technical and industrial school for Negroes. The Negro college might train architects and contractors, but Negro architects and contractors have slight chance of bidding for work at their own Alma Mater. The same refusal to hire black skilled labor on a large scale that soured the construction of the Fisk University library, attended the construction of the Administration Building at A. & T. White trustees are hand in glove with white contractors and builders to such an extent that the administration of the Negro college must fall in line or fall out. Usually they elect to fall in line. But the industrial school and technical college can no longer shut its eyes to the realities of the situation. To train a technician is one thing. To find him work in a society that yields to political pull and practices economic discrimination against the Negro is quite another.

In spite of these severe realities, the Negro in North Carolina made progress. In this period of expansion, an unparalleled record of achievement was established in Negro public school education. Where the burden of secondary education was formerly placed on Church schools, today we find over a hundred public high schools. Not all of them are standard, it is true, and many of them are poorly staffed and housed. But the contrasts between North Carolina and her lethargic neighboring states are so severe as to defeat the arguments of apologists for the latter. Even Virginia, secure and complacent in the attitude towards "her Negroes," had been outstripped, and proud Richmond was plodding along until 1933 with the anomalous situation of Jim Crow schools under white principals. Yes, there was progress for the Negro in North Carolina.

The Depression with a capital "D" descended on North Carolina. And it descended on the Negroes. Last winter perhaps a fourth of all the families of the State were being kept alive by public welfare funds. The proportion of Negro destitute exceeded the proportion in the population here as elsewhere. White women went into the steam laundries at a slightly higher rate than that received by the colored women, but the white women often got as little as three dollars for a 60 hour week. Textile mills were curtailing production, and using a smaller proportionate number of workers. The stretch-out system, defended by mill owners as "sound in principle, but abused," was put in full

operation with terrible consequences to the poor whites. Crowded out here, the poor whites took traditional "Negro jobs" or starved. Many starved; starved right long side Negroes without knowing that the same system that exploited one exploited both.

After the market crash of 1929, the tobacco barons who struggled in poverty on a net income of over \$70,000,000 in 1932, the furniture industry, the railroads and cotton brokers, together with the plantation oligarchy of the Eastern section of the State, combined with all the pressure possible in our weakened democracy in a powerful lobby that threatens to wreck not only the Negro school system in North Carolina, but the white system as well. The University of North Carolina was saved from complete wreckage, it should be remembered, not by an aroused public conscience, but by a lobby of its own headed by Judge John J. Parker. The Negro state supported schools lacking a powerful lobby were given a pittance. Indeed, as Mr. C. C. Spaulding admirably pointed out, the States of Georgia, Tennessee, and Virginia have in recent years given more to each of their land-grant colleges than North Carolina has given to all of its five. Lacking a lobby backed either by money or political power, the Negro was left to the timidity of his friends and to the mercy of his enemies.

While the people of the state were exulting over the prospects of a New Deal and the return of beer, a battery of lobbyists armed with statistics and recruited from the best lawyers in the state, were making havoc with the North Carolina public school system. The annual school budget was cut from 25 million to 16 million dollars.

That the large corporations had paid thousands of dollars to skilled lobbyists was not denied. Indeed, the practice was defended as good business sense. North Carolina white teachers decided to lobby on their own behalf. If they had possessed the good sense to arouse their colored fellow teachers, or if they had helped the colored teachers to come out in the open on the question, there is no doubt that the schools of the State would have been saved. But North Carolina white teachers loyal to their training, are like the mill workers. They have not learned that the system that exploits one, exploits both.

The liberal forces in the state are willing to have the law rewritten in order to give more advanced cities like Greensboro, Charlotte, Raleigh and Durham, an opportunity to supplement the

salaries as in the past. But liberal city sentiment was blind to the rank discrimination against Negroes in rural communities. The passing of local control into the hands of the state, in theory, ought to give the Negro a better deal, and it is natural that at first the law which created a state wide eight months term was hailed as a great achievement by the Negro and his friends. But like the old equalization law, it had too many loopholes. Besides it is being administered by a group of politicians ordinarily hostile to Negro education. There had been rank discrimination under the old Equalization Act which proposed to make possible with state funds an eight or nine months school term whenever the county applied for it. At the outset, there was a rush by white officials to secure extended terms for white pupils. Negro principals and supervisors outside of the large towns and cities were held back. When the majority of the white schools had been provided for, the Equalization Board declared that no more money was available. A pitiful minority of counties took advantage of the law to extend the six months to eight months for Negro children.

Soon after the new law appeared, however, the presence of the joker clause meant for Negroes was discovered. It provides that at the discretion of the State School Commission, the last two months of an eight months school year might be run concurrently with the first six. In other words, the interpretation that will usually apply is that Negro pupils will again be called upon to outstrip their white fellow pupils in the ratio 8 to 6. The Negro pupils will learn in six months what the white can learn in eight. Experience acquired under the operation of the equalization law prompts the observation that the schools that operated six months will still operate six months, and no longer.

There are many other forms of discrimination still rampant. But the straw that is about to break the camel's back is the salary schedule and its intended operation. The local units of administration are directed to make out a separate budget for the colored schools. They are directed to allot the teachers

on the basis of enrollment and grades of instruction. Then the State Commission will appropriate an amount out of which these teachers will be paid. In other words, regardless of certification, the salaries of Negro teachers must be paid out of the sum appropriated by the State School Commission.

The Commission has sent maximum salaries at the ridiculously low level of \$720 a year. There is not enough money on hand to pay ALL of the teachers, black and white, this maximum salary. Hence, the provision that county boards may issue contracts for less than the maximum salary. In addition, the Commission released a story which stated "The announced schedule applies to white teachers and it is expected that the former practice of a 30 per cent differential for colored teachers will continue in most cases."

Now, there is absolutely nothing new about salary discrimination in North Carolina. The thing that shocks the public is that this erstwhile progressive state should plunge back into the company of Mississippi, South Carolina, and Florida. That the liberal element of the state should have been caught asleep when the law was being framed is regrettable.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People will enter the fight to win equal pay for equal services. The logical group to protest this discrimination is the Negro State Teachers' Association. But the State Teachers' Association is led by a group of men who have been lulled to sleep by the "fine state of inter-racial relations." It is led by men who are in a difficult position. It is a group which must walk in lock-step with what powers that be. The "friends of the Negro" have in this instance as in many another tied the hands of the leaders of the teachers. Like Little Tommy Tucker, the Negroes who are in the front ranks of education in North Carolina must sing for their supper, and in singing they chime of progress and good race feeling to such an extent that it is well nigh impossible to find a leader who will take a stand on any question greater in importance than the weather.

Recently the State Teachers' Associa-

tion declared privately, "As in the past, so now, the (executive) committee of the Association is on record as unalterably opposed to discrimination practised in North Carolina in dual salary scale operated in the State." But to make this feeble declamation is not quite enough. The rank and file teachers know that it is not enough, and they have made themselves heard.

Out of the restlessness one can discern three elements struggling for leadership among North Carolina Negroes.

1. A militant group of men and women of all ages who do not hesitate to speak and write their feelings. This group is the hope of the State. Crushed by the old guard in innumerable battles, they go down and come up stronger. In spite of occasional defections from their ranks by those who have succumbed to the lure of jobs and favors, the "radicals" are becoming more numerous, and they will be heard.

2. The compromising group intent on riding with the hares as well as the hounds. This group will eventually be lined up with the winners, and whatever happens, they will appropriate all credit. At present they are helping the reactionary forces spread the propaganda that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is an "outside influence," in spite of the twelve state branches and the growing membership.

3. The "Uncle Toms." Distinct from the compromisers, the "Uncle Toms" have no ideals, and fewer ideas beyond self-gain.

If Negroes do not rally to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in this fight, it is doubtful that any better chance to earn for Negro teachers, and eventually all employes of the State their right under the laws of North Carolina and the Constitution of the United States.

It is noteworthy that the Greensboro *Daily News*, one of the most liberal papers in the State declares that the discrimination will be easily set aside in the courts. There is no danger that the N.A.A.C.P. will fall into innocuous desuetude in this, or in any other projected action.

To a Colored Saxaphonist

By ROSCOE C. WRIGHT

IN your fervid rhapsody,
You are; It seems to me;
Reincarnate, the great God Pan,
The ancient Jazz-God,
Half-goat . . . Half-man.
Under your hat, I imagine . . . horns,
Cloven hoofs within your shoes;

That shaggy hair your legs adorns,
Oh player of enchanting blues!

Your sobbing, sighing Sax, methinks,
As did the pipes of Pan's shrill syrinx,
Puts more life into the revel,
Sends discretion to the Devil.

When I hear the melodic moan,
Of your blatant Saxaphone,
I then, am almost sure . . .
That you're none else, but Pan . . .
Come back in the form,
Of a Colored man!

November, 1933

The Status of the American Negro in the New Deal

By HAZEL W. HARRISON

SINCE March much has been heard of and said about the New Deal and the Forgotten Man. Two newly coined phrases in American vocabulary that are destined to have far reaching effects upon the American Negro when put into action. Whether they raise or lower his economic status will be dependent largely upon his own acumen and action. If ever there was a Forgotten Man the Negro is he; a Forgotten Man badly in need of a New Deal. At this point in his national life for the Negro to take literally the lines of the blind bard,

"They also serve
Who only stand and wait,"

and act accordingly, is to commit suicide. There must be vigilance and intelligent action.

Paradoxical as it may seem, it has been the peculiar fortune of the Negro to benefit by the country's every crisis but to receive few of the benefits accruing to it through governmental or natural bounties. The two most outstanding instances of the first being the Civil and World Wars. The former releasing him from bondage and bestowing upon him citizenship, the latter taking him from his natural habitat, the South, and diffusing him throughout his own country and giving him world vision by injecting him into the life of foreign countries at a most crucial period in the lives of said foreign countries. As to the bounties; in the days of prosperity there were those who bemoaned the fact that despite their 300 odd years residence in America, Negroes had accumulated none of the great wealth that had its beginnings in the early colonization and settlement of the country. But this could be rightfully excused on the ground that he had not had the opportunities of other groups to acquire this wealth. In the early days of American national life when the Astor fortune in real estate and furs, to mention only one of the many fortunes, was being amassed, Negroes were few in number and the majority held in bondage. When the great West was being settled, again the mass of Negroes was still wearing the shackles of slavery and the few who were free possessed no civil rights. Therefore the whole group was rendered helpless to partake of this free land. During the gold rush of '49, when beggars were converted into millionaires over night,

the same slavery shackles and the Fugitive Slave laws prevented the Negro from obtaining his portion of the malleable Aurum. The last great gift of the government to its people, from which many of the "prosperity day" fortunes had their inception, was between the years of 1862 and 1890 when 1,397,000,000 acres of land were distributed. Though free from slavery during most of this period yet freedom was too new a thing for the Negro to grasp its significance and prosper thereby. The unsettled conditions of the reconstruction period also deterred any pioneer inclinations he may have had. Though some 40,000 Negroes had settled in Kansas by 1879 none has ever acquired wealth commensurate with that acquired by other groups in the same locality. The boom days of the World War saw the Negro acquiring money and property out of all proportion to his previous acquisitions but here again he was handicapped both by circumstances and his own ignorance. Had he had ready capital to invest undoubtedly many Negroes would have been found among the hundreds of nascent millionaires of that period. Had he had sufficient urban sophistication to spend wisely that which he did acquire he would have benefitted.

But the Depression, like death, has been a leveler. Sceptre and crown of wealth have tumbled down and are equally laid in the dust with the poor crooked scythe and spade of the For-

gotten Man. A New Deal is in the offing. Never before in the history of the country has there been so much poverty nor has the majority of Americans, regardless of color or creed, been so nearly equal economically. The whole country is off to a new start. Will this depression, the greatest crisis that has ever faced the country, uphold the tradition and in turn prove a blessing to the Negro? In this New Deal the Negro has an unusual opportunity of getting in on the ground floor, also an opportunity of profiting by his past experiences of missing the country's bounties. All of the old forces that prevented his participation in former deals both of the government and Mother Nature are absent now and it is up to him to realize that he has become of age nationally, is ready to take his place along with other men, obtain his quota of benefactions in this New Deal and help push his country on to a new kind of prosperity.

Whether we like to admit it or not America has passed through a bloodless revolution the after-effects of which are destined to be just as far reaching as were those of the French Revolution or the Russian Revolution of our own times. All of the old American economic paraphernalia; gold standard, anti-trust laws, state and private banking, duplicate railroads, competitive businesses have been jettisoned to save the good ship America. Is the Negro fully aware of these changes? Is he preparing himself for them? Can he adjust himself to them to his advantage? Are his leaders alert to the responsibilities that will be theirs in the immediate future if they and the group they represent are to survive economically? In facing this New Deal there are a few poignant facts that it would be well to bear in mind. The First and most important is; a realization that there has been a revolution and that the whole country is on the threshold of a new era the like of which the world has not seen in modern or medieval times; that there will be no going back to the good old days of '26, '27, '28, '29 but that there will be a steady marching forward to something new, something different, whether better or worse only time and destiny can tell. Second; that the whole world has undergone a change and America's rela-

(Will you please turn to page 262)

Sonnet

By CARDINAL LE GROS

I SHOULD be sad because the end is coming:
The moment when no longer will you care.
(I recognize that song that you are humming
So delicately to the stars out there.)
But who am I to argue that it matters?—
I that am nothing, when the cool, white rain
Comes weeping through the night again,
and patters
A lonely tune upon the window-pane.
I am not one to cherish long hereafter
A garden and a moon-lit parapet;
I shall forget our cruel, quiet laughter,
That you will never, never quite forget.
You will remember when the moon is bright,
And when the rain comes weeping through
the night.

ALONG THE COLOR LINE

AMERICA

Housing

The largest housing project in New Jersey for Negroes is being erected in the third ward of Newark. The manager will be a Negro college graduate and he will have Negro assistants in all the six buildings. The rental charge, including gas and electricity will be nine dollars a room per month; there will be 374 apartments of 2, 2½ and 3 room suites.

Professor Starr

Frederick Starr, Professor Emeritus of the University of Chicago, is dead in Tokyo, Japan. He was born in New York in 1858, and became Professor of Anthropology at the University of Chicago. He was interested in colored peoples and wrote one of the best histories of Liberia.

A Crisis Agent

Harold Edmonds, agent for the *CRISIS*, in Springfield, Massachusetts, has for three times won a gold medal at Camp Atwater, East Brookfield, Connecticut. The first year he was rewarded as being the most popular camper; the second year, as the best all-around camper, and this year, as the best mannered camper.

A Friend

In September, Adele Ovington Merritt died at Redlands, California. She was a sister of Mary White Ovington and spent her life in Brooklyn Heights, New York. She was a Shakespearean student; a friend of Dr. Howard Furness and interested in all good works.

From the beginning, she was a member of the N.A.A.C.P., and a reader of the *CRISIS*. From its very first number, the *CRISIS* went into her home with its library of well chosen volumes, and until she closed her doors to seek health in the West, she received and read the *CRISIS* each month. She never refused any call of help which the Association sent out.

Jew and Slavery

The *American Hebrew* has published an article by Walter H. Blumenthal. This recalls the various Jews who worked for the abolition of slavery. Among them are: Moses Montefiore of England, Daniel Hart, of Jamaica, and Adolphe Cremieux in France.

In the United States, were Judah Touro of New Orleans, Solomon Heydenfeldt of Alabama, and Michael Heilprin of Philadelphia. Many Jews helped in the underground railroad movement, and August Bondi was the friend and co-worker of John Brown. David Einhorn, a Baltimore rabbi, had to leave Baltimore for Philadelphia for his plain speaking.

A Young Marksman

Rufus A. Atkins, Jr., son of Captain Atkins of the 369th Regiment, N. G.

November, 1933



Do something or I will!

N. Y., is eight years old. He recently made a score of 273 in shooting and was awarded a second-class gunners' medal.

Lynching

A state-wide anti-lynching conference was held by Negroes in September in Birmingham, Alabama.

Legislator

Perry B. Jackson has been elected as a member of the Ohio General Assembly from Cleveland.

EUROPE

An Expert in History

Miss Ruth Anna Fisher, a colored woman formerly of Lorain, Ohio, has for many years been a resident of London, England. She has qualified as an expert in the British Museum. She has had an office there for five years and is one of the few workers who has her own key. In fact, only two or three women have ever been allowed a key, and no other foreign woman.

Policemen on duty at the British Museum and the Public Award Office stand at attention and salute her when she enters. She has been employed by American historical experts on many occasions for research. Miss Fisher is a graduate of Oberlin.

Black Bishop

Last month the Archbishop of Canterbury consecrated Canon Alexander Babatunde Akinyele as an assistant bishop to the bishop at Lagos, Nigeria, West Africa. This is the second Negro who has recently been raised to the bishopric of the Anglican Church in Africa; the Bishops of Salisbury, Barking and Calcutta were in attendance.

Wilberforce

At the Wilberforce Centenary celebrations at Hull, England, Dr. Harold A. Moody, President of the League of Colored Peoples, made one of the chief speeches.

WORK, WASTE, WEALTH

Business

The Federal Department of Commerce has sent out a report on Negro business. This report, covering the year 1929 announces the number of retail stores operated by Negro proprietors in each of the fifteen cities having a Negro population of 50,000 or more, as shown by the Fifteenth Census. The city of Chicago ranked first in the number of stores, in the number of employees and the amount of the payroll, in the value of stocks on hand at the end of the year, and also in the amount of net sales. Detroit occupied first rank in the average per capita net sales based on the Negro population, and New York led with the highest average value of net sales per store. Of the \$27,862,020, the total amount of net sales in these fifteen cities, 17.3 per cent was reported by the Chicago stores, followed by 11.9 per cent for New York, and 11.3 per cent for Philadelphia. Although having a larger Negro population than seven of the other cities in this group, Birmingham reported the lowest amount of net sales.

The cities include Atlanta, Baltimore, Birmingham, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Houston, Memphis, New Orleans, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Richmond, St. Louis and Washington, D. C., with an aggregate Negro population of 1,927,569, or 16.2 per cent of the total Negro population of the United

States. All stores are classified according to the principal commodities which they sell or according to their popular designation, such as drug stores, cigar stores, etc.

The stores include 1,923 which sell food, 262 which deal with automobiles, 191 clothing stores, 1,898 restaurants, and 1,132 other retail stores. They employ, including the proprietors and part-time employees, 10,325 persons and paid them during the year \$2,674,564.

Radio

Negro radio technicians, who have Federal certificates, have organized a fraternity, the Kappa Sigma Upsilon. Rufus B. Turner is the National President.

In Georgia

Colored business men in Augusta, Georgia, are issuing a one-page medium, known as the *Business Builder*. It has a circulation of 4,000 copies.

Relief

W. H. Mitchell, Jr., formerly Y.M.C.A. Secretary, has been put in charge of government relief work in New Orleans.

Strikers

Negro workers on the Federal Barge Lines in St. Louis and East St. Louis have won their strike for better wages and working conditions.

N.R.A.

The Home Owners Loan Corporation in Memphis, Tennessee, is openly refusing to loan money on Negro property.

Architects

McKissack and McKissack, colored architects of Nashville, Tennessee, have been given charge of the New Meigs Junior High School which is being erected by the City Board of Education. The old school was erected in 1883 and recently was destroyed by the tornado.

Workers

The Maryland Congress of workers and farmers which met at Hagerstown, Maryland, in July passed a series of resolutions against race discrimination in work.

They pointed out that seventeen per cent of the population of Maryland is Negro and that Negroes are not getting their proportion of employment. Differences of fifty per cent exist in the average salary of colored and white teachers. The colored school children receive one-third less per capita expenditure for their schools than the whites.

ART

Ethel Waters is gaining new laurels in Irving Berlin's "As Thousands Cheer".

Kenneth Brown, of Howard University, has been chosen accompanist for Bechtel Alcock, Metropolitan Opera House singer, in his appearances throughout Pennsylvania.

Tony Sarg plans to dramatize the Uncle Remus Stories with marionettes.

In Paris, Alberta Hunter will sing at the Casino de Paris.

Inez Emptage, the only colored candidate in 300 contestants, won three places in a contest sponsored by the United Irish Counties Association in New York City. She was born in Dublin.

The Morrison players of Kansas City have a Little Theatre conducted under the direction of J. O. Morrison. Mr. Morrison is a teacher of English in the Lincoln High School and has had charge of dramatics since 1924. The Little Theatre was organized in 1932 and began a second session in October.

Among the Colored artists now playing at Hollywood are, Clarence Muse, Mme. Sul-te-wan and her son, and Libby Taylor.

SCHOOLS

Howard

Howard University has been allowed an additional \$70,000, which makes \$460,000



Garnett Waller's 18th grandchild

for a chemistry building and \$460,000 for a power plant. In addition to this \$98,811 has been allowed for repairs and improvements.

Six graduates of Howard University have successfully passed the District of Columbia Bar Examinations.

A Workers' School

A Harlem workers' school has been established. It is conducted by the Communists and aims to train workers in the labor movement.

Legacy

Dr. Aaron B. Hunter has left his entire estate worth \$34,000 to St. Augustine College after the death of his wife.

Master of Science

Mrs. Elizabeth Grant Walker has received her M.S. degree from the Western Reserve University, and is engaged in

social service for the United Charities of Chicago.

Johnson Memorial Fund

Archibald Johnson, who graduated from Storer College in the first class in 1872, has left a legacy of five hundred pounds to the college to be invested and the income used as a scholarship fund.

President McCrorey

Dr. H. L. McCrorey, President of Johnson C. Smith University, Charlotte, North Carolina, has returned from Europe where he was a delegate to the World Alliance of Presbyterian and Reformed Churches which convened at Belfast, Ireland. Mrs. McCrorey was also a delegate to the International Union of Women's Home and Foreign Missionary Societies. The McCroreys, with their two daughters, visited most of the European capitals.

A Record

It is reported that Stewart Matson has completed two years' work at the University of Chicago in six months. He is one of the new-plan students who passed examinations in June for the completion of the first two years of school work.

Dunbar

M. Louis T. Achille, instructor of French at Howard University, has written a thesis at the Sorbonne, Paris, on the "Life and Poetical Works of Paul Lawrence Dunbar."

AFRICA

Teachers

The Natal Native Teachers' Union Conference has met at Durban, South Africa; over 250 teachers were present.

The annual conference of the African Teachers Association of the Transvaal has been held. They are complaining of salary cuts.

Khama

Eight hundred Europeans and natives assembled at Tiger Kloof, South Africa, to celebrate at the opening of the Arthington Memorial Church. In the church is a memorial tablet to Khama. The son of the late chief Khama unveiled the memorial.

The Sacred White Skunk

In South Africa, Chief Tshekedi of the Bamangwato tribe had a white Englishman whipped because of his cruel raping of native women. The Acting British High Commissioner in South Africa, Vice Admiral Evans acted like the usual martinet, and ordered the Chief's suspension for presuming to deal with a white man in his tribal court. The British government after strong pressure has restored the Chief to his functions without, of course, placing any blame on the Commissioner. Tshekedi is chief over 35,000 tribesmen.

Modern Slavery

Most Englishmen prefer to forget the conditions under which native labor is

supplied by the Portuguese colonies to the mines in South Africa. The Portuguese government receives \$500,000 a year, and the natives a small wage. Health conditions are bad; the death rate is high, and the conditions of labor approximate slavery.

The Way, the Truth

A young West African, returning from his education in England, writes to the Editor of *West Africa* concerning the death rate among the natives of Calibar:

Let me name what I consider three among our worst woes. They are (1) poverty with its concomitant health disabilities; (2) general illiteracy, with its attendant superstition and ignorance; and (3) a cultural inferiority complex. The horrors of poverty and ill-health are well known. We must banish them from our homes, our towns and villages. We must attack them fearlessly. They have taken the heart out of us, and robbed us of our radiance in and zest for life. Our fathers were literally true when they told us that "the poor has no spirit," for under poverty we lack joy and "divine madness" and the creative spirit. Its attendant ill-health completes our devastation. That our medical and health agencies have not been able to save the situation shows that our high mortality is due to more than the ordinary physical causes of epidemics; that it is accelerated by the disintegrating influence of poverty, ignorance, and loss of spirit and zest for life. We must wage our war against the infernal trinity as one. We must know and use our vast resources and the world's heritage of civilisation and culture. If we do not make friends of them by becoming intelligent of them, they will remain engines of death to us. We must know and organise our trade and industry, or they will go wretched, and carry us with them. Similarly, we must know and organise our agriculture. With our third foe—the cultural inferiority complex—we must wrestle with ferocity. Here lies a devastating poverty in our spiritual resources, and here our loss in the health of mind. We must not only respect and appreciate our music and other forms of art, our social philosophy and metaphysics, our language and other forms of expression.

AWARDS

To Howard D. Gould of Boston, Massachusetts, the National Urban League Fellowship award for study in sociology at the University of Pittsburgh. Mr. Gould received his bachelor's degree from the University of California in 1932. During the past school year he studied economics in the Graduate School of Harvard University.

Fellowship for study at the Western Reserve university to Alva B. Maxey, who was awarded the Master of Arts degree at Oberlin College. Miss Maxey's fellowship carries with it a position in the Associated Charities of Cleveland. Her thesis at Oberlin College was "The Life of the Negro Group in Oberlin", a study in social attitudes covering every phase of the life of the Negro population of that town.

To Maxine Janette Baker a Delta Sigma Theta scholarship key and scholarship award of \$50. The award was presented at the 12th national convention of the Sorority held at Chicago.

Second scholarship to the summer session of the College of Commerce at the University of Southern California to Leola Evelyn Ferguson, Los Angeles high school student, for high grades made at the final examination in the commercial teachers' advanced course. Miss Ferguson's first scholarship was awarded to her when she was adjudged the most accurate typist in the city schools.

Reappointment as member of the Guggenheim Clinic of Columbia University to Miss Stephanie Davis, D.D.S., who spent her internship at the Columbia University dental clinic. Dr. Davis is a member of the Honorary Dental Society of Columbia.

By unanimous vote of the mayor of Atlanta, Georgia, James L. Key, and the City Council, the Carnegie Hero Commission has been asked to award a medal to Olin Miller, Negro, who rescued the lives of two white men, trapped by an explosion of gas in the basement of a house.

Selection of Dr. S. J. Bampfield of Logan, West Virginia as superintendent of the Denmar Sanitarium, West Virginia. This is the first time that a Negro has held this position.

Presidency of the woman's auxiliary of the National Baptist Convention of America to Mrs. M. A. B. Fuller.

Presidency of the National Baptist Convention of America to Dr. Greene L. Prince of Denver, Colorado, at its 53d annual session held in Chicago.

Election as grand basileus of the Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority to Miss Ida L. Jackson of Berkeley, California, at its boule in Chicago.

Cash prize for baking a large angel food cake awarded to Mrs. Alma Hughes of Aurora, Illinois. The cake was on exhibit at the World's Fair.

Prize for winning the county-wide jacks contest held at Heckscher playground under the auspices of the bureau of recreation, New York Department of Parks to Augusta Graham, 14 year old colored public school student.

Appointment as secretary to Dr. Clark Foreman, Adviser on Economic Status of Negroes to Secretary Ickles to Miss Lucia M. Pitts of Chicago, Illinois.

MR. JAMES CROW

Dr. Nolan A. Owens claims that the U. S. War Department is discriminating against colored doctors in the Medical Civilian Conservation Camps.

George Francis Arnold, a brilliant West Philadelphia High School graduate was refused entrance at Swarthmore College solely on account of color. He has been admitted at Dartmouth College.

Qellford Gilman, white farmer, was held in contempt of court at Frederickburg, Virginia, for refusing to serve with two Negroes on a local grand jury.

A colored school teacher and a university student have entered suit for being refused service at a Loft store in New York City.

At Berwyn, Pennsylvania, Colored parents are still fighting against the "Jim Crow" school.

Officials of Beaver County, Pennsylvania, are charged with kidnapping forty-six Negroes last January and deporting them to West Virginia. They are threatened with prosecution.



THE MORRISON PLAYERS OF KANSAS CITY. See page 256

Postscript

by W. E. B. DuBois

WILBERFORCE

ONE hundred years ago, July 29, 1833, William Wilberforce died in London. He was born in Hull, England in 1759 and became famous as an opponent of the slave trade. He was educated at Cambridge and went to Parliament, where he met William Pitt and especially Thomas Clarkson. Clarkson and he began to agitate against slavery, and in 1792, Wilberforce carried in the House of Commons a measure for the gradual abolition of slavery; but this was thrown out by the House of Lords. Finally, the Emancipation Bill was passed in 1833, a month after the death of William Wilberforce.

This year in various parts of England and of the Negro world, the centenary of his death is being celebrated. Members of his family have spoken and many African Negroes have taken part in the celebrations. A gift of \$5,000 has been made toward endowing a Wilberforce chair of History at Hull University.

THE FUTURE

THERE are certain matters which common sense must teach us. First and above all, we must learn that while human beings again and again fail and perish, humanity is eternal. This country, this civilization, in its essential aspects, are going to continue. The present depression is going to stop if it has not already stopped, and judging from the experience of the past, we shall begin probably with 1934 a long steady pull backward toward normal conditions.

It is, of course, to be sincerely hoped that this recovery will be accompanied by certain fundamental changes in our economic and social organization. But this is not certain. Whatever happens, however, we can count on the increased ability of ordinary people to get work and make ends meet. The wave of returning prosperity will strike the colored people last or near last, just as the wave of depression took us first. Nevertheless, the clouds will lift.

And in a certain very clear sense, this is the day of salvation. This is the day when, having known the worst, we must think things through in spite of

a gradual return of better conditions. For this purpose, we must especially keep our organizations and institutions devoted to thought and planning for us. It would be an immeasurable catastrophe if we began the new era, without, for instance, an organ of independent thought and criticism like *THE CRISIS*. This does not for a moment say or pretend to take the place of this independent and liberal magazine.

It would also be an irreparable loss if the N. A. A. C. P. which sponsors this magazine and is its excuse for being, should not survive and be able to use its invaluable experience and widespread organization for grappling with the newer problems as they come. There again those who have criticized the N. A. A. C. P. and its methods and accomplishments and purposes have much to sustain their criticism. This organization is human with all human frailties and its work has always been handicapped by lack of funds, imperfect tools, and grave problems of procedure. Nevertheless, it is a conservative statement to say that the Negroes of the United States have never in the three hundred years of their residence had as efficient and unselfish and practical an organization as the N. A. A. C. P. It would be worse than foolish to let this organization die at the present moment. In the future it may well happen that other organizations and other methods and other people can do a better work than we have done. But again, at present, there is nothing that can replace the N. A. A. C. P.

We celebrate with the beginning of the new year a quarter century of work for this organization and twenty-three years of publication for *THE CRISIS*. This event ought to be commemorated by the practical method of insuring the survival of the two institutions. No one knows better than we how the generous among us have been bled white in these last few years with contributions to causes. But after all, here is the need and the opportunity. Is it too much to ask that in the celebration which we are planning to mark a quarter century of work, that the colored people

of the United States and their friends should give us a fund of a quarter of a million dollars to ensure the continuity of our efforts?

STAND FAST, LIBERIA!

AUGUST 25, 1933, the British and American Legations in Monrovia presented the following note to the President of Liberia, by the hand of Mr. Routh and Major-General Winship:

His Britannic Majesty's Government and the Government of the United States of America are convinced that the present Plan of Assistance provides an opportunity which they are informed is not likely to recur for Liberia to obtain the assistance which she has requested from the League of Nations. They consider that the present proposals will provide a solution of the problems confronting Liberia.

Upon the acceptance by Liberia of these proposals and the extension when the plan becomes operative of an amnesty to all political prisoners detained, His Britannic Majesty's Government and the government of the United States of America will be prepared to recognize and to enter into full diplomatic relations with the existing Liberian Administration.

The secretary of State replied as follows:

The Government of the Republic of Liberia hereby acknowledges receipt of the Joint Note filed on the 25th of August, 1933 in the name of the governments of His Britannic Majesty, and of the United States of America, recommending the acceptance by Liberia of the present plan of assistance.

The plan recently proposed by the Liberian Committee of the Council of the League of Nations has been, and is now, having the careful study of the Liberian Government who will give due consideration to the recommendations contained in the Joint Note.

The Liberian Government is now confident that said study will have been completed in time for whatever conclusions shall have been reached by it to be laid before the ensuing session of the Council.

A distinguished citizen of Liberia comments upon this joint note as follows:

Points of significance which I hope you will not overlook in their note are these: They do not refer to slavery and forced labour to remedy the existence of which they forced us to go to the League of Nations, nor to the boggy of reprisals

which they raised when it had been made clear that the conditions of involuntary labour complained of in the report of the late International Commissioner of Inquiry had become a matter of history; they are now trying to find a "new cry", namely: political prisoners. It looks like the old story of every man being able to find a stick when he is *determined* to hit a dog. Apart from that we have no persons in detention as political prisoners, for even when persons carrying on subversive propaganda against the state were apparently being subsidized by Firestone's money, the Government refrained from apprehending them until, as in the case of Delaney, forgery was added; and in the case of several others such as Morais, Pinknette Blumeyer, they made efforts to incite discharged soldiers and others to revolt against the Republic. The government is not prepared to admit that citizens of other countries can come into Liberia and foment rebellion and then get their governments to screen the persons who have by the pernicious influence of such agents been guilty of crimes against the Republic.

I am giving you these few facts for your information and such use as you may be able to make of them. Two of the largest tribes in the Republic, the Buzis and the Krahns have petitioned the Government not to permit any white people to go into their country either as Provincial Commissioners or as other high officials; two hundred prominent leaders among the Greboes last 26th July,—Independence Day,—sent messages of loyalty and support to His Excellency the President; Mr. Brownell, one time confederate of Morais,

has now himself seen the error of his way and has not only protested his loyalty, but offered his services to the President in any capacity that he may see fit to use him.

In the meantime, the whole matter goes back to the Council of the League of Nations now meeting in Geneva, and also and at the same time, the United States government is refusing to recognize the present government of Liberia, and instead of sending a legal diplomatic officer, has sent to Liberia a Georgian, General Winship, who is hoping to be made by appointment of President Roosevelt, the real Governor of Liberia; which God forbid!

THE GOVERNMENT OF AFRICA

TWO statements have recently been made concerning the future government of Africa:

First, the British Labor Party has drawn up a program to be presented at the next party meeting. This policy favors native ownership of land; co-operative agriculture; the ownership of mineral products and their exploitation by the state; the prohibition of compulsory labor; and especially a detailed system of education, training the native to become a free citizen capable of taking part in industry and government.

The other statement was made by the Belgian Crown Prince after a visit to the Congo. Speaking before the Belgian Assembly, Leopold said:

"We must give agriculture a more important place than before.

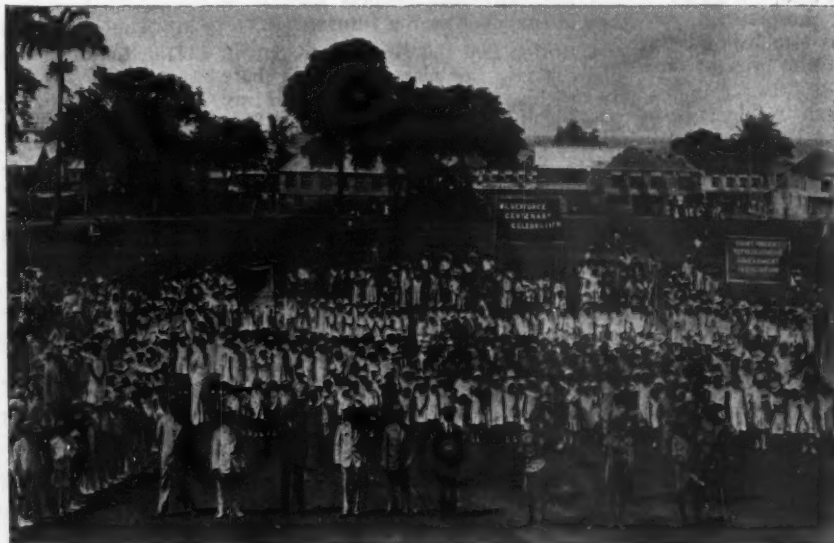
"We must create a peasantry; thus, the natives will become landowners and will enjoy the economic liberty which is being guaranteed to them.

"So, for a number of years, the government should no longer grant fresh concessions in countries susceptible of agricultural development.

"The future belongs to the colonies where the working of the ground will be carried out in the most economic way, that is to say, through the native. The white part will consist in the scientific work, in the purchase of the produce, in their transformation, transport, and export, all realms at present outside the province of the native.

"The highest interests of a colony require the moral and material raising of the native. Let us keep in touch with him. Let us try to know him. Let us be with him where solidarity and interest bring us close together. Let us pay him proportionately to his work, and thus he will soon learn to work spontaneously.

"In the beginning of our occupation, our countrymen were living in closer touch than now with the native. By keeping him aside and depriving him of the profits of labour carried out with us, we aggravated the lack of comprehension which separates us. We must materialize the union of efforts and the just partition of their fruits."



A Wilberforce Centenary in the West Indies

UNTO those great souls of 1833—Wilberforce and Clarkson and the host that held aloft their aching and discouraged hands,—we a century later of another color in another world, pause to give due praise and render rightful homage; and we thank the undying

Fire of Justice which lets the human Soul transcend, in times of crisis, all boundaries of color and caste, of wealth and poverty, learning and ignorance, and fight for Right although earth heaves and heavens fall.

(Continued from page 247)

other and criticize each other before we make any attempt to learn the truth. There are, for instance, in the United States today several commendable groups of young people who are proposing to take hold of Liberia and emancipate her from her difficulties, quite forgetting the fact that Liberia belongs to Liberia. They made it. They suffered and died for it. And they are not handing over their country to any group of young strangers who happen to be interested. If we want to help Liberia, our business is to see in what respect the Liberians need help, and the persons best able to give this information are the Liberians themselves.

It is a large and intricate problem but the sooner we put ourselves in position to study it with a vast and increasing area of fact and with carefully guided and momentarily tested effort, the sooner we shall find ourselves citizens of the world and not its slaves and pensioners.

ETHIOPIA

(Continued from page 251)

the whites, and constantly recite their woes in their native land to the Abyssinians.

Efforts were once made to get trained Aframericans for government jobs but without success. A young Washington Negro, taken out in 1930 as medical adviser, left soon after. Other colored doctors have migrated also, but all have returned. The first hospital in the country, however, was established by a West Indian Negro, who was private physician to Menelik.

The oldest American resident is a patriarchal Negro from Lincoln county, Missouri, named Daniel R. Alexander. He went out as a missionary thirty years ago and was a favorite of Menelik. He is now wealthy, and has a farm near the capital, many servants, and an estate with cattle in the interior. He did much toward paving the way for the coming of the other Americans, white and black. There are also two colored American women who do social work.

THE NEW DEAL

(Continued from page 256)

tive position in it alike has changed. Because of these world changes America will doubtless live on a smaller economic scale for a long while to come; that the fabulous incomes of many Americans derived from some weaker foreign country investment, which wealth has sometimes rebounded to the good of most of the country,

will be greatly curtailed and in many cases eliminated entirely due in part to the permanent shrinkage in American foreign trade caused by the world changes mentioned above; in part to the weakening of American Imperialism and in part to the new avowed intention of the present administration to hold less tenaciously to the Monroe Doctrine thereby lessening the chances for collection of interest and such on many questionable deals made with weaker countries mostly on this continent. When such wealth is dried up there will be fewer philanthropists and fewer agencies to subsidize Negro undertakings.

Now that the seventy-third Congress has concurred in the desires of the President, passing in fourteen weeks the most stupendous bills ever undertaken by any Congress, America waits breathlessly for the signal to be off. Where is the Negro? Is he ready, waiting? Is he too to benefit by the Industrial Recovery Bill, the Muscle Shoals project, the Tennessee Valley project, the Home Mortgage bill, the Farm Relief bill, the Railroad bill? Business it is assumed, because of the loosening of the anti-trust laws, will be run much as were the chain stores businesses of the past. If the Negro can prevent the old discriminatory practices of the chain stores, gasoline companies, labor unions and similar octopuses of the prosperity era creeping into this New Deal he will do well for himself. Unless he does he is doomed to permanent unemployment, for be it remembered that the government and not the individual business man is to be the employer of the future.

Granting that the Negro is to remain alert, receive fair play and get his share from this New Deal there still are greater possibilities tucked away for him in this Forgotten Man's New Deal. Besides obtaining employment old precedents stand fair to be broken down in his favor. To mention only a few possibilities: If the government is to produce and distribute power through its Muscle Shoals and Tennessee valley projects it is not hoping for too much to visualize the employment of Negroes in Public Utilities, jobs heretofore barred to them. Once and for all the strangle hold of the American Federation of Labor on the Negro may be broken. Who knows but that this is the time to deal Jim Crow a death blow? With the Federal coordinator in charge of the railroads, dividing them into Eastern, Western and Southern groups, by persuasion the Negro can no doubt obtain the coordinator's promise to compel all sections of railroads to operate on the same principles as far as passenger accommodation is concerned. This would destroy Southern Jim Crow transportation

practices. These are not fantastic dreams if one analyses the character of Franklin D. Roosevelt in whom is vested the power of carrying out this New Deal. In discussing his Muscle Shoals and Tennessee Valley projects Mr. Roosevelt asserted that to effect this new social experiment new social planning would have to be put to work and new economic and social upbuilding would have to be striven for. Isn't it highly probable that he had in mind an economic New Deal for the Negro too, one in which the erstwhile discriminatory sections of the country would have to concur through this new social planning and upbuilding? Mr. Roosevelt is running true to Rooseveltian type in that he is working for the good of America, creed and color having no place in his scheme of things. Kind, patient and unbiased Frances Perkins, whose office will have much to do with this New Deal in allotting employment, can be depended upon not to abdicate to the American Federation of Labor. Harold Ickes already has established his reputation, so far as the Negro is concerned both during his association with the N.A.A.C.P. and during his residence in Chicago. His good office of Secretary of Interior will also be helpful in this cause.

With such potentialities, here is a wide field for college clubs as well as other organized or individual leaders to work in. If at their alumni meetings, these men and women instead of sipping pink teas and gossiping take an active interest in some one of the above mentioned or other equally as deserving causes and see it through to a successful end they will have earned their claim to leadership of the race. With a man of Mr. Roosevelt's calibre as the leader aided by Miss Perkins and Mr. Ickes whose respective departments of labor and interior are going to play a large part in this undertaking, the Negro should not find it difficult to obtain a favorable place for himself. Through correct vigilance and action it should be no great task for him to lift himself out of the category of the Forgotten Man by means of the New Deal.

The 100 Meter Finals at the Olympics

By HERBERT HENEGAN

TWO swarthy ships
Sailing in the breeze
Like mighty Thors
Astride a blast of thunder.
On they come, annihilating time
And space
Upon a sable sea of cinders.
See them fly—
Cutting calm waves of wind
With their sharp black prows,
Leaving a helpless, trailing spray
Of Nordic foam.

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